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ABSTRACT

To test the impact of mass communication on the modernization of individuals living in the countries of the Third World, a follow-up study was devised (the original occurred in 1962), whereby migrant residents in Ankara, Turkey, were interviewed regarding the effects of urbanization on their lives. While economic and living conditions had improved for the 65 original respondents interviewed, the study revealed very little change in behavior and attitudes, other than an overall decrease in the use of mass media and an increase in awareness regarding the value of voting to effect political change. The findings did not support theories that attribute great importance to the impact of urbanization and mass media in changing traditional lifestyle patterns. (Comparative tables are included.) (MAI)

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CHANGING PATTERNS OF MASS MEDIA USE AND EFFECTS IN AN URBAN SQUATTER SETTLEMENT

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ABSTRACT

Current articles on the function of mass communications in the development process have questioned the great impact previously attributed to the mass media in the modernization of individuals in the Third World. However, the early models of Lerner, Rogers and Inkeles which show mass media use having a strong correlation with other indicators of modernity still stand as part of what Everett Rogers has termed "the dominant paradigm".

This study of communication and development in the Turkish squatter settlement of Aktepe is a partial replication of a 1964 study by Granville Sewell. The research is concerned with a group of migrants in the capital city of Ankara, Turkey. Residents of Aktepe were re-interviewed after a span of 13 years. The 1975 investigation concentrated on over-time changes in mass communication use and in the social, psychological and political attitudes of the residents.

The purpose of the study was to test generally the hypotheses and models of Lerner, Rogers, Inkeles and others who had claimed that the urbanization of villagers may bring about other changes in their lives--e.g. increased mass media use, increased political participation and more modern attitudes.

From demographic data and a map of the settlement as Aktepe appeared in the original study, it was possible to locate 65 of the original respondents for interviews. The community itself had changed in many ways since 1962. A dry, rocky landscape had been replaced by fruit trees and gardens planted by the residents. Aktepe, once located some distance from the center of the city, had become surrounded by apartment buildings, stores and busy streets.

In this setting the respondents of this study had spent 13 years in the capital city. They came to Aktepe with hopes for a better life for themselves and their families. Economically, their lives improved somewhat. Some moved or improved the construction of their houses. The city had provided electricity, water and sewage services to the settlement and many residents obtained appliances which helped to make their lives more comfortable. Most of the respondents owned radios and television sets. Some retired and lived on pensions. The children of the respondents grew up but most had not achieved the educational aspirations their parents had for them. Most of the residents were relatively content with their lives in Aktepe, having no desire to move to a better location.

Generally the residents had changed very little in significant aspects of their behavior and attitudes. Their overall mass media use decreased over the years in spite of a high reported use of TV in the later study. Most of their attitudes about life in the city were similar to those expressed in the earlier research. The only significant changes were in the politicization of the respondents. They had become more aware of the importance of voting since 1962 and felt they could effect change in the political system.

Definitive conclusions about the effects of urbanization on mass communication use patterns and attitude change were impossible based on the small sample size in the study. However, the findings did not support theories which attribute great importance to the impact or urbanization and mass media in converting people with traditional attitudes and lifestyle to more modern ways.

The current articles on the function of communication in the development process are questioning the great impact previously attributed to the mass media in the modernization of individuals in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Some of the authors of these reviews are persons who themselves once thought that mass media use was a critical variable in the transformation of individuals from a traditional to a modern state.[1] Nonetheless, the early models of Lerner, Rogers and Inkeles still stand as part of what Rogers terms, "the dominant paradigm".[2] In these models, measures of urbanization, mass media use, political participation and a variety of individual modernity variables have been linked together through the process of statistical correlation. Most models of communication and development have included several of the above named variables, usually ordering the variables in some fashion.[3]

However, it is more currently held, says Rogers, that the role of mass media "in facilitating development was often indirect and only contributory, rather than direct and powerful". (1976, p. 227) Whatever the role played by the mass media in the development process, and particularly in their relationship to the urbanization process, it is clear that wherever urban areas are present in the developing world, mass media are found in the greatest concentration. Understanding how urban peoples use the mass media has become most important as more of the Third World countries urbanize at an

extremely rapid rate. One source indicates that in 1970 there were 29 countries in the world which showed urban growth rates of 5% or more (Raanan Weitz, 1973), All of these countries were located in Latin America, Asia or Africa.

For a variety of reasons the cities of the developing world have been increasingly attracting a rural population since World War II. For the most part, the cities have not been able to keep up with the migration process in providing jobs, housing or the necessary social services. As a result the migrants have set up shanty towns or squatter settlements on government or privately owned land on the outskirts of the cities. These settlements have grown so large in many countries as to comprise more than half of the urban population. The people living in the squatter settlements are often marginally employed, have large families, little education and limited skills.

In Turkey, which is the country of focus for this study, squatter housing comprised about 22.4% of all urban housing in 1972. (Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement, 1974) The major cities of Turkey seem to be most affected, with Ankara made up of about 65% squatter housing, Istanbul and Adana about 45% and Izmir about 35%.

Migrants from rural environments are important persons to observe in the testing of the hypotheses of Rogers (69), Lerner (58), Inkeles and Smith (74), Kahl (68) and Frey (66). Some of the research of these scholars indicates that as

individuals are exposed to the urban environment, they also become greater consumers of the mass media. This increased mass media use leads to greater involvement in the political system and the cultivation of more modern attitudes. If migrants are observed shortly after arrival in a city and then again after a period of time passes it would be possible to monitor changes, if any, in their attitudes, mass media use and political participation.

This study is concerned with a group of migrants in the capital city of Ankara, Turkey. Residents of the settlement of Aktepe were interviewed over a span of 13 years. The first part of the research was conducted by Granville Sewell in 1962-63. (1964) He focused on the political, social and economic characteristics of the Aktepe community shortly after its settlement. In 1975 I returned to Aktepe, interviewing as many of the persons in the original sample as possible. The 1975 research concentrated on the over-time changes in mass communication use and in the social, psychological and political attitudes of the residents.

The purpose of the study was to test generally the hypotheses and models of Lerner, Rogers, Inkeles and others who had claimed that the urbanization of villagers may bring about other changes in their lives--e.g. increased mass media use, increased political participation and more modern attitudes.

The Research Site

Aktepe[4] is located on a ridge, the rim of the bowl which encloses the city of Ankara. From many parts of the settlement,

the entire panorama of the city may be observed. When first studied Aktepe was a relatively new settlement without roads, electricity or schools; water was obtained from community fountains. Today Aktepe has access to all city services, including transportation by bus and dolmus.[5] There are several paved roads in fair condition, and residents have less complaint about mud in the winter and rocky dusty paths in the summer, although these problems are still present to some degree.

As photographed by Sewell, the gecekondu[6] community showed only houses and dirt or mud paths. By 1975, the seedlings planted by the settlers had become trees; most gardens boasted several fruit trees, with a poplar here and there. If it were not for the poor condition of most of the houses, it would appear to be a pleasant place to live.

One of the most interesting features of the community was the television antenna which perched atop many of the houses. Evidence of so many television sets is the first thing to catch one's eye. Since most TV sets cost between $400 and $500 (U.S.) in Turkey today, it is somewhat surprising to find so many in Aktepe. The antennas seem to stand there as a symbol of the extent of modernization and the influence of Western culture on the lives of these people.

Methodology

Most empirical studies which tested how mass media use and urbanization were related to various other indices of modernization have used the survey method administered at one point in time. On the basis of a single set of interviews,

the researchers have drawn some conclusions about what the components of modernization might be.

Because the development of a nation, a society or an individual involves a process (Eisenstadt, 1966, p.1) which requires a period of time to achieve, it was felt than an overtime observation of a group of people would provide more insight into a study of the role of communication in development.

Therefore, since longitudinal or panel data were desigred for this study, a partial replication of the 1962 Sewell study was undertaken.

Sewell's aim was to collect interviews from every head of household in the community, a survey of the population of Aktepe at that time. When heads of household could not be located, the wife or other adult in the home was interviewed. Since the precise number of residents of the community was not known at the time, the actual response rate was also unknown. According to Sewell's calculations, there were 229 houses in the community in 1962. Some houses were occupied by more than one family, accounting for his estimate of 300 households in Aktepe. A total of 276 interviews were processed in 1962, with an approximate response rate of 92% of the community.

In 1975 the same approach was taken. Equipped with demographic data on most of the residents included in the first study, as well as a detailed map of the community, I attempted to re-interview as many of the original group as possible. Seventy of the original sample were located with 65 interviews being processed--or 24% of the original sample. The high sample

mortality was due to the considerable time lapse and the fact that squatter communities tend to be more mobile than most.

Aktepe was not chosen for study on the basis of any statistically based procedure. It was chosen as one example of a fairly settled squatter community in Turkey with a rather heterogeneous population. As described by Sewell and observed by me, however, it appears to have many things in common with other such settlements in Turkey. As Sewell states:

> Aktepe was chosen for a detailed study because it appeared typical of Ankara's squatter settlements. After uncovering the roles of identity groups and villages, it was necessary to examine the rest of the city's gecekondu to determine if, indeed, Aktepe was typical.
>
> After discussion with various identity groups both inside and outside Aktepe and a careful review of the sample data from the earlier survey of Ankara gecekondu, it appeared that Aktepe was typical of Ankara squatter neighborhoods in the sense of representing the elements that exist in these communities (pp. 180-81).

Hypotheses

Specific hypotheses for this study were generated from the general reserach question: What effects have thirteen years of exposure to the urban environment and the mass media had on residents of the squatter settlement of Aktepe, Turkey? The following hypotheses were also drawn from research in the field of communication and development as cited earlier.

1) The residents of Aktepe will be greater overall consumers of the mass media in 1975 than rhey were in 1962.

2) Respondents who are greater mass media consumers in 1975 than in 1962 will also express more modern attitudes in 1975 than at the earlier date: i.e., the level of modernity expressed in the attitudes of the respondents is a function,

among other things, of the level of mass media use.

3) A high degree of mass media use is positively related to other indicators of modernity: 1) a heightened socioeconomic status, 2) an increased expression of optimism for the future, 3) an increased desire for education for one's children, 4) increased interpersonal communication in decision making, 5) a high level of information, 6) a high level of satisfaction with urban life and 7) a greater degree of expressed empathy.

4) The respondents of 1975 will display more political efficacy and participation than the respondents of 1962.

5) The degree to which an individual depersonalizes the problems of his community and his nation is a function of the degree to which he exposes himself to the mass media, i.e. mass media works as an agent of social integration.

Edelstein (1974) has posed another set of hypotheses concerning the use of mass media in relation to the way individuals define their problems and the solutions they seek. The greater use persons make of the mass media, the more they will express their problems in terms of society's needs rather than their own personal needs. They will derive possible solutions to these problems from information found in the mass media.

Findings:

Before making an analysis of the specific results of the testing of the hypotheses, it is worth examining some of the overall changes in the lives of Aktepe residents.

The average adult resident of Aktepe was born and raised in a village 200 or less kilometers from Ankara. In the village most persons had been farmers of shepherds who moved to the city because of the inability to support themselves or their families. Most of the residents chose Aktepe for their homes because they knew persons who had already settled there or because Aktepe provided open land available for building a house.

Most residents came to Aktepe poorly educated--the male heads of household with less than an eighth grade education and most of their wives having no formal education at all. By 1975 most of the men and women were over 40 years old, had an average of five children in their families and still lived in the same house in which they were located in 1962.

Of course, a large part of the original sample could not be located in 1975. The whereabouts of many of these persons is not specifically known. When the interviewers inquired about the missing persons, they were usually told that they had moved to another gecekondu and occasionally that they had moved to an apartment in the city.

The economic situation of the 1975 residents was improved over the earlier time. About 19% of the sample owned other houses in the Aktepe settlement or in other places. Half of the sample owned at least two important major appliances

(refrigerator, washing machine or sewing machine). Nearly 54% owned both a radio and TV, with an additional 15% owning radio, TV and telephone. In Turkey, telephones are often difficult to acquire. The waiting list is so long that five years is not an uncommon period of time to wait. Consequently, individuals buy telephones from others who may be leaving the city. The cost is sometimes the equivalent of several hundred dollars.

Many persons had come to the city because they wanted their children to have better educational opportunities than were available in the village. In 1962 the overwhelming majority, 83.1% of the people, said they wanted their sons to be university educated. In 1975, only 6.2% of the oldest sons had completed high school and only 1.5% had completed university. Respondents expressed regret that their children had not achieved in accordance with the aspirations of their families.

Most of the residents of Aktepe had grown used to the city, were happy in their squatter community and had no desire to move. Results of the testing of the hypotheses:

1) The residents of Aktepe will be greater overall consumers of the mass media in 1975 than they were in 1962.

This hypothesis was tested through the formation of a media use index for Time 1 and Time 2. The index was formed by adding together the reported frequency of newspaper reading, radio listening, cinema attendance and TV viewing (for Time 2) and dividing by the number of variables which made up the index (3 for Time 1; 4 for Time 2), thus standardizing the indices and making them approximately equivalent. Because television had not been established in Ankara in 1962, the standardizing was necessary to account for the use of the new medium in 1975. The mean frequency of use was computed for the two times, and a t-test was used to determine possible significant differences between 1962 and 1975(see Table 1.)

Overall media use in 1962 was higher than that of 1975, contrary to the hypothesis. But the decrease was slight and did not prove to be significant statistically. The reported decline in attendance at the cinema and in frequency of newspaper reading over time accounted for the decrease. T-tests showed that the decline in attendance at the cinema decreased substantially ($p < .0005$)[9], and the same was true of the reduction in newspaper reading ($p < .04$).

The lack of support for the hypothesis was somewhat surprising, considering previous studies in the area of communication and development which indicate that urbanization and increasing media use are positively related (Rogers, 1969 and Lerner, 1958). Even the extensive use of television (63.1% reporting everyday viewing) did not make up for the reduced cinema attendance and newspaper reading in the combined index.

2) Respondents who are greater mass media consumers in 1975 than 1962 will also express more modern attitudes in 1975 than at the earlier date: i.e., the level of modernity expressed in the attitudes of the respondents is a function of the level of mass media use.

In describing the results of the tests of this hypothesis, it is important to explain and qualify the findings. The group of people who showed increased media use at Time 2 over Time 1 numbered only 21 out of the 65 respondents. With a sample size this small it is very difficult to draw statistical conclusions about the relationships between increased media use and other indicators of modernity. With this in mind, the following is presented as an explanation of the results.

Very few of the questions asked at Time 1 were measures of modern attitudes. The variables measuring equivalent modern attitudes in 1962 and 1975 were compared for the group of respondents

whose mass media use showed a reported increase over time. None of the attitude-change variables indicated any significant change over time when t-tests were performed to determine possible change. At this level then, the hypothesis was not supported.

But the hypothesis was also tested through first determining the respondents whose media use had increased over the 13 years (21 of the 65 respondents) and then determining what their responses were to a range of measures of modernity at Time 2. Cross-tabulations were done between the increased media use and other variables measuring modernity. Relationships were correlated (Kendall's Tau) to determine the strength of the relationships. A number of variables were found to be positively related to an increase in media use.

Economic Status

The first set of variables dealt with the economic status of the group of people who had shown an increase in their use of the mass media. Variables which measured amount of income, ownership of property other than the home of the respondent lived in, the number of appliances in the home and the number of communication facilities present in the home were used as indicators of relative economic status. All these measures were found to be related to an increase in mass media use. (See Table 2)

Level of Information

The level of information as measured by the respondents' knowledge of world capitals and important world personalities was positively related to increased mass media use (knowledge of capitals; Kendall's Tau = .41: knowledge of world personalities; Kendall's Tau = .24). (See Table 2) The knowledge of the location of the UN headquarters was not found to be related to increased mass media use.

Satisfaction

The degree to which the respondents reported that their lives were happy was found to be positively related to increased mass media use (Kendall's Tau = .43). A weak to moderate relationship between increased media use and satisfaction with city life over village life was found (Kendall's Tau = .32). A similar relationship was found between increased media use and attitudes about the positive effects of the city on the children of Aktepe (Kendall's Tau = .27). Another measure comparing benefits of city life with those of the village was shown to be positively but weakly related to media use increases in 1975 (Kendall's Tau = .28). On the other hand, a weak to moderate relationship was found between increased media use and a desire to return to the village to live (Kendall's Tau = .37).

These relationships between degree of satisfaction with life in Aktepe and increased media use were moderately strong in most cases. The fact that increases in media use are related to an increased desire to return to the village may indicate that the media display enough negative images of the city that the respondent develops a desire to leave it. However, when comparisons were made between life in both places, the respondent favored the city over the village. Media use and satisfaction are not strongly or consistently related in this study. (See Table 2)

Optimism-Pessimism

On the optimism-pessimism dimension, few relationships between measures of optimism and increased media use supported the hypotheses. Relationships between the degree to which a respondent felt a person could expect to succeed if he was born

in a poor family, and increased media use, were positive but weak (Kendall's Tau = .30). The degree to which a respondent thought a child raised in Aktepe would be able to succeed in life was positively (but not strongly) related to increased media use. In looking back over the last 10 years, respondents with increased media use claimed that their economic situation had improved (Kendall's Tau = .55). In the next ten years, these respondents felt the situation would continue to improve, although the relationship with increased media use was not strong. (See Table 2)

Once again, the general trend of the relationships is in the direction of support for the hypothesis, although the support is not clearly or strongly established. The degree of optimism one expresses may be more closely related to one's economic level than his mass media use. From the results, optimism does not appear to be so much an indicator of modernity as a realistic assessment of the life situation of individuals.

Interpersonal Communication

Those people who showed increased mass media use in 1975 also participated more in interpersonal communication as measured by two variables in the study. They reported talking about the news with others to a greater extent (Kendall's Tau = .34) and discussing the political coalition more (Kendall's Tau = .28). Their increased mass media use did not, however, affect their discussion of decisions made in their daily lives. More of them relied on their own opinions for any decision-making activity. (See Table 2)

3) A high degree of mass media use is positively related to other indicators of modernity: 1) a heightened socioeconomic status, 2) an increased expression of optimism for the future, 3) an increased desire for education for children, 4) increased interpersonal communication in decision making, 5) a high level of information, 6) a high level of satisfaction with urban life, and 7) a greater degree of expressed empathy.

To test Hypothesis 2, only those respondents whose mass media use showed an increase at Time 2 over that of Time 1 were considered in determing relationships between mass media use and other indicators of modernity. To test Hypothesis 3, scores for the mass media use (made up of the reported cinema attendance, frequency of newspaper readership, television viewing and radio listening of all 65 respondents interviewed in 1975 were cross-tabulated with measures of socioeconomic status, expression of optimism etc. Relationships were then correlated for the 65 respondents to determine the strength of the relationship. (See Table 3)

Once again, any conclusions based on statistical tests need to be viewed with caution for this hypothesis. The sample size, while not too small, was skewed in the distribution of the media use variable in such a way that some cells of the cross-tabulations have very low frequencies. Therefore results should be interpreted only in a general sense.

Socioeconomic Status and Media Use

The amount of education attained by the head of the household was found to be positively related to media use (Kendall's Tau = .28). (See Table 3) Whether the head of household had a high level of media use was not found to be related to the education attained

by his oldest two daughters and sons. Of the older children, a positive but weak relationship was found only with the degree of education attained by the oldest daughter. It appears that although the father may make more extensive use of the media if he has had more education, his children have not been inspired to seek a high level of education for themselves.

A weak positive relationship was found between ownership of property and media use. Amount of reported income, another indicator of economic status, was also positively, but not strongly, related to media use (Kendall's Tau = .21). The number of communication facilities (ownership of TV, radio and telephone) was positively related to the degree of mass media use of the respondent (Kendall's Tau = .16). Other indicators of socioeconomic status--as the number of appliances owned and the extent of household facilities available (electricity, running water, indoor plumbing) --were not found to be related to media use. (See Table 3)

Overall, most socioeconomic indicators showed weak positive relationships with media use, i.e., the more education and the better the economic position of the head of household, the higher the reported media use. This part of the hypothesis was supported.

Expression of Optimism

Of variables which attempted to assess the degree of optimism of the respondents, four proved to be positively related to high media use in 1975. A higher level of media use was related to a positive attitude about the chances for the success of a child born in a poor family (Kendall's Tau = .15), the success of a child raised in Aktepe (Kendall's Tau = .18), a positive assessment of

the economic changes in the respondent's life in the last 10 years (Kendall's Tau = .33) and expected favorable economic changes in the next 10 years (Kendall's Tau = .19). (See Table 3)

Even though four of the indicators of optimism were positively related to increased media use, it was still suspected that pessimistic ideas result more from a lack of material success in life than an indicator of modernity.

Those people who consumed more media, for example, were able to do so because of heightened economic status. Televisions and radios were expensive, as was a subscription to a daily newspaper. Logically it seems that high socioeconomic status, increased media use and optimism for the future should be related to one another. When the economic means are there, the other things can follow from it. It is difficult to be anything other than pessimistic when, after years of struggle, one is still without the means to adequately support one's family.

Desire for Educational Achievement of Children

This portion of the hypothesis was not supported. Media use did not show any substantial relationship with the aspirations of the respondents for the educational achievement of their children.

Interpersonal Communication

Media use and interpersonal communication showed a positive relationship when measured through frequency of discussion of the news with others (Kendall's Tau = .24). (See Table 3) Discussion of the political coalition of 1975 and discussion of the

respondent's decision making were not found to be related to media use. Respondents who made most use of media seemed likely to enter into conversations about news items, but this discussion did not follow the particular political event in question, nor did they report greater discussion of the decisions to be made in their lives.

An interesting relationship appeared between media use and the opinion leadership of the respondents. The higher the media use, the more the respondent reported that people consulted him on his opinions (Kendall's Tau = .20). (See Table 3) In traditional Turkish society, older men are respected for their opinions by virtue of their age. This group of people tend also to be the least literate. If the reporting of this phenomenon of opinion leadership is accurate, it means that individuals consult those who have gained expertise through use of the media, not just through age alone.

Level of Information

Information level was measured through knowledge of world capitals and personalities and through a knowledge of the location of UN headquarters in both studies. Two of the three measures (world capitals and personalities) were found to be positively related to the level of media use (world capitals: Kendall's Tau = .35) and personalities: Kendall's Tau c= .24). These findings generally support the hypothesis that a higher level of media use is related to a higher level of knowledge in the individual. (See Table 3)

Satisfaction with Urban Life

This variable was measured in a variety of ways--in terms of

effects of the city on the respondent's children, in comparison between village and city, in a reported measure of the happiness of the respondent and through questions concerning the desire of the respondent to move to another location. Questions were also asked concerning the respondent's degree of satisfaction with his income and whether he had experienced scarcity of anything in the last years. Most measures were not found to be significantly related to media use. And the ones which were showed only weak relationships. The relationship between reports of effects of the city on children and media use was positive but weak (Kendall's Tau = .17) and the comparison between the attributes of the city in favor of the village and media use also showed a weak positive result (Kendall's Tau = .17). Respondents who indicated that their income was sufficient also tended to be higher media users (Kendall's Tau = .34). (See Table 3)

None of the positive relationships were strong enough to conclude that a person who displayed high media use will also be satisfied with life in the city. But the trend was in the direction of support for this portion of the hypothesis.

Empathy

Since virtually all respondents could give an answer to the question of what they would do first if they were made prime minister, it was not possible to relate this measure of empathy to media use. Even in the 1962 interviews, only a small percentage

of the people either did not know what they would do or could not imagine themselves in such a position. It would seem that Lerner's findings of the 1950's (1958) related to a rural unexposed group of people and that if urbanization and media exposure were the cuases of the development of empathy in this group of people, the first interviews in 1962 were already conducted after the change had taken place. Another possible explanation might be that it takes people who have a so-called psychic mobility to make such a move from the rural to urban environment, and that they came to the city possessing a certain measure of empathy.

4) The respondents of 1975 will display more political efficacy and participation than the respondents of 1962.

This hypothesis was supported. The people of Atkepe expressed membership in a party more often in 1975 (75.4%) than in 1962 (63.1%). The increase in reported party preference was found to be substantial. The question of membership was the only equivalent measure obtained over time. Therefore, an index of political participation/efficacy was formed for the different measures taken in 1962 and 1975 by summing the values for the measures at each time and dividing by the number of variables used (party membership and two measures of attitudes toward politics for 1962; party membership and a measure of political efficacy for 1975), thus standardizing the indices. T-tests were computed to determine if there had been an increase in participation/efficacy in 1975. A significant increase

($p < .0005$) was found in participation/efficacy for 1975. (See Table 4) It was interesting to note that few people felt their vote was worthless in the later year. Respondents often expressed strong emotions when discussing politics with the interviewers. It was thought that party membership was much higher than reported because many of the "no answer" or "don't know" responses were made because the individuals did not want to reveal political information to the interviewers.

5) The degree to which an individual depersonalizes the problems of his community and his nation is a function of the degree to which he exposes himself to the mass media; i.e. mass media works as an agent of social integration.

This hypothesis was supported at a certain level. In the breakdown of responses to the question concerning the problems of Turkey, it can be seen that respondents tended to nationalize and not personalize their answers in 1975. (See Table 5) Even in the 1962 study, when respondents were asked about Turkey's greatest problem, only 4.6% listed a personal issue; an additional 7.7% listed locally needed roads or deeds to the land as important problems. In 1975 no one listed either a personal or a local issue as an answer to this question. Whether depersonalizing problems can be attributed to media use could not be determined in this study. As early as 1962, unemployment was seen as one major national problem. Perhaps a respondent learned of this problem from the media; perhaps his knowledge came from personal experience with unemployment. Since no problems were listed in personal or local terms in 1975, it was impossible to determine

in what ways media contributed to this trend.

Edelstein (1974) concluded from his research on the uses of media in decision making that those who were aware of more world problems and were able to state solutions for them claimed to have made more use of all media and more use of newspapers in particular (Edelstein, p. 243). The findings of this study indicate that such people claimed to rely mostly on experience and personal observation in formulating solutions to the problems. Occasionally they reported using TV as an aid in locating solutions to the problems they listed.

Discussion of Findings

Overall the findings are somewhat inconclusive. Some support the hypotheses; others do not or were not possible to test. At any rate it is clear that media use does have some relationship to other important facets of the modernization process.

That relationship is probably more along the lines of what is the current re-thinking of the scholars in the communication and development field. Mass media can probably only be considered, as Rogers says, "an indirect and contributory" force in the modernization of the residents of Aktepe. The urbanization of these migrants had not brought about subsequent increases in their use of mass media overall. In spite of regular reported use of the new television medium, there was a reported decline in the reading of newspapers and attendance at the cinema. Those people who had reported an increase in their media use in the thirteen year span were shown to be somewhat different from the

other members of the community in their attitudes and socioeconomic status. But only 21 of the 65 respondents had reported such increases.

Overall, the findings do not support the research of those who have claimed that the urbanization of individuals has a great effect on their attitudes and behavior. The residents of Aktepe had not changed all that much in the thirteen years.

The one change in the lives of Aktepe residents worth noting is the politicization of the community. Most respondents had involved themselves with particular parties and no longer felt that voting and electing leaders were in God's hands or the hands of the middle class. They saw important value in their single vote to change the political structure of the country.

Although the sample was small and the sample mortality from the first study was high, the results of this study are important because of the longitudinal nature of the data. Few, if any, studies in the area of communication and development have actually observed persons in the process of becoming part of an urban environment.

As Rogers (69) said,

> The effects of urbanization and/or industrialization on the modernization of traditional people is clearly of import, but it has not yet been studied adequately . . .It is important to understand how the trends to industrialization and to city living will affect the peasant population (pp. 376,77).

This study was an attempt to look at some of the effects of city living on a community of migrants. The small sample size makes it impossible to make definitive conclusions about the

effects of urbanization on mass communication-use patterns and attitude change. However, the findings did not support the theories which attribute great importance to the impact of urbanization and mass media in converting people with traditional attitudes and lifestyles to more modern ways.

Footnotes

[1]See, for example: Frederick W. Frey, Mass Media and Rural Development in Turkey (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, 1966), Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (New York: Free Press, 1958), Everett M. Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), Alex Inkeles and Donald Holsinger, Education and Individual Modernity in Developing Countries (Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1974), and Alex Inkeles and D.H. Smith, Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

[2]See: Everett M. Rogers, "Communication and Development: The Passing of the Dominant Paradigm," Communication Research, Vol. 3, Number 2 (April, 1976), pp. 213-240.

[3]For further discussion see: Frederick W. Frey, "Communication and Development" in Ithiel de Sola Pool, et al., eds., Handbook of Communication (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1973.)

[4]In both studies the researchers promised the residents of the community that their identities would not be revealed. Aktepe is not the actual name of the settlement.

[5]A dolmus is a shared taxi. It costs less than a taxicab but more than a bus. The dolmus is common in Turkey.

[6]In Turkey, the squatter's house is called a gecekondu, meaning literally, settled by night. The name came about because it was said that the police only destroyed houses in the process of being built. If the house could be constructed quickly and the family settled in it, the house usually escaped such a fate. Thus work at night was common.

[7]For an analysis of the gecekondu, see: Kemal H. Karpat, The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

[8]Before the hypotheses could be tested it was necessary to determine whether the group of persons located in 1975 were representative of the larger group interviewed in 1962. T-tests were performed on significant demographic and socio-economic variables to determine if the group of 65 residents was typical of the 211 respondents not located in 1975. The t-tests found a preponderance of nonsignificant differences between the two groups.

[9]Significance levels are used only as a measure of relative strength of statistical tests throughout the study. They are not meant to be used to generalize to any population.

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TABLE 1

Comparative Media Use

Combined Media Use of Respondents for 1962 and 1975 (Frequency of Cinema Attendance, Frequency of Newspaper Reading, Frequency of TV Viewing and Frequency of Radio Listening)

Media Use	1962		1975	
	Number	%	Number	%
Low	13	20.0	13	20.0
Medium	34	52.3	44	67.7
High	7	10.8	1	1.5
No Response	11	16.9	7	10.8
TOTAL:	65	100.0	65	100.0

Comparison of Average Media Use in 1962 and 1975
Use of Individual Media
n=65

Variable	Mean	t-value	p<
Cinema Attendance	1962=1.75[a] 1975=1.23	-4.31	.000
Frequency of Reading Newspapers	1962=2.75 1975-2.22	-1.86	.04
Frequency of Radio Listening	1962=2.63 1975=2.79	1.18	.12
Frequency of TV Viewing	1962=None 1975=2.75	----	----
Media Use Index			
Media Use	1962=2.26 1975=2.23	.28	.78

[a]A higher score indicates more frequent media use.

TABLE 2

Relationship Between Media Use in 1975 and Indicators of Modernity for those Persons who Increased Their Media Use in 1975
n=21

	Correlation	Significance
Economic Status		
Ownership of Property other than Residence	Kendall's Tau = .20[a]	p = .10
Monthly Income	Kendall's Tau = .44	p = .003
Number of Appliances Owned	Kendall's Tau = .29	p = .04
Level of Information		
Knowledge of World Capitals	Kendall's Tau = .41	p = .005
Knowledge of World Personalities	Kendall's Tau = .24	p = .008
Degree of Satisfaction with Present Life		
Reported Happiness	Kendall's Tau = .43	p = .004
Preference of City life to Village Life	Kendall's Tau = .32	p = .03
Effects of City on Children	Kendall's Tau = .27	p = .05
Observed differences in Life Quality between Aktepe and Village	Kendall's Tau = .28	p = .05
Desire to Return to Village/Contingent on Available Opportunity	Kendall's Tau = .37	p = .01
Expression of Optimism		
Possibility for Success of Industrious Child Born in a Poor Family	Kendall's Tau = .30	p = .03
Change in Economic Situation in Last 10 Years	Kendall's Tau = .55	p = .0002
Interpersonal Communication		
Frequency of Discussion of News	Kendall's Tau = .34	p = .02
Discussion of 1975 Coalition	Kendall's Tau = .28	p = .04

[a]Kendall's Tau B was used for square tables and Kendall's Tau C was used for rectangular ones.

TABLE 3

Relationship Between Media Use for 1975
and Indicators of Modernity for 1975
n=65

	Correlation	Significance
Socioeconomic Level		
Education of Father	Kendall's Tau = .28	p = .001
Monthly Income	Kendall's Tau = .21	p = .009
Number of Communication Facilities Owned	Kendall's Tau = .16	p = .03
Expression of Optimism		
Chances for Success of a Child Raised in Aktepe	Kendall's Tau = .18	p = .02
Possibility for Success of Industrious Child Born in a Poor Family	Kendall's Tau = .15	p = .04
Changes in Economic Situation in Last 10 Years	Kendall's Tau = .33	p = .001
Expected Changes in Economic Situation in Next 10 Years	Kendall's Tau = .19	p = .02
Interpersonal Communication		
Frequency of Discussion of News	Kendall's Tau = .24	p = .004
Degree of Opinion Leadership/ Persons Consulting Respondent on Opinions	Kendall's Tau = .20	p = .01
Level of Information		
Knowledge of World Capitals	Kendall's Tau = .35	p = .0001
Knowledge of World Personalities	Kendall's Tau = .24	p = .008
Satisfaction With Urban Life		
Effects of Life in Aktepe on Children	Kendall's Tau = .17	p = .03
Observed Differences in Life Quality between Aktepe and Village	Kendall's Tau = .17	p = .03

TABLE 3 (cont.)

	Correlation	Significance
Income Enough for Living	Kendall's Tau = .34	p = .0001
Reported Happiness 1	Kendall's Tau = .34	p = .0001
Desire to Move to a Better Neighborhood	Kendall's Tau = .18	p = .02

TABLE 4

Relationships Between Political Efficacy and Participation Over Time

Political Efficacy/Participation Indices for 1962 and 1975

Degree of Political Efficacy/Participation	Number	%
1962:		
Low	12	18.5%
Medium	21	32.3
High	15	23.1
No Answer	17	26.2
TOTAL	65	100.0%
1975:		
Low	1	1.5%
Medium	5	7.7
High	46	70.8
No Answer	13	10.0
TOTAL	65	100.0%

Differences in Declared Membership in a Political Party

Variable	Mean	t-value	p>
Party Membership	1962-2.18 1975-2.88	5.22	.000

Differences in Efficacy/Participation Index Over Time

Efficacy/Participation	1962-2.25 1975-2.84	5.23	.000

TABLE 5

Problems in Aktepe and Turkey, 1962 and 1975

	1962		1975	
	Number	%	Number	%
Aktepe's Greatest Problem				
Need for Roads	2	3.1	10	15.4
Need for Water	2	3.1	13	20.0
Roads/Water/Electricity	40	61.5	----	----
Land Titles	3	4.6	3	4.6
Land Titles + Other	7	10.8	----	----
Bazaar	----	----	2	3.1
Attention	----	----	3	4.6
Sewers	----	----	2	3.1
Roads/Water/Sewers	----	----	9	13.8
Other Combination	4	6.2	3	4.6
No Problems	----	----	20	30.8
Personalized Answer	5	7.7	----	----
No Answer	2	3.1	----	----
TOTAL	65	100.1	65	100.0
Turkey's Greatest Problem				
Roads/Locally Needed Facilities	3	4.6	----	----
Ownership of Land	2	3.1	----	----
Employment	17	26.2	11	16.9
Employment + Other	2	3.1	----	----
Ignorance	----	----	1	1.5
Inflation	----	----	8	12.3
No Industry	----	----	11	16.9
Problems With Other Countries	----	----	8	12.3
Government Inefficiency	----	----	5	7.7
Some Combination	----	----	4	6.2
Other General	20	30.8	----	----
Personalized Answer	3	4.6	----	----
Other	7	10.8	----	----
No Answer	11	16.9	5	7.7
No Problems in Turkey	----	----	12	18.5
TOTAL	65	100.1	65	100.0